

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAJ-01 SAM-01 ACDA-07 /088 W

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 726

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, CH, PARM

SUBJ: KULAKOV ON SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

1. SUMMARY. CHINA MOVED TO THE HEAD OF THE LIST OF  
"NEW SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES (AFTER THE "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY"  
BUT AHEAD OF VIETNAM), BUT KULAKOV OFFERED NO  
SURPRISES ON SUBSTANCE, AND REPEATED THEMES -- IT IUSUP TO

THE CHINESE, THE PAST FIFTEEN YEARS HAVE BEEN BAD, RELATIONS  
SHOULD BE ON BASIS OF "SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM" -- MORE LIKELY  
THAN NOT TO OFFEND THE CHINESE. "CAPITALIST"  
COUNTRIES MOVED AHEAD OF THE THIRD WORLD, AND KULAKOV EXPRESSED  
CONFIDENCE, ON BASIS OF WESTERN POLLS AND ELECTION RESULTS (INCLU-  
DING U.S.) THAT "REALISM" WILL TRIUMPH. HE WAS ALSO VERY FIRM ON  
"PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM." END SUMMARY

2. THE MOST STRIKING FEATURES OF KULAKOV'S REMARKS ON FOREIGN  
POLICY AT THE NOVEMBER 5 REVOLUTION DAY CEREMONY IN THE KREMLIN  
WERE STRUCTURAL, RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE.

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3. BREZHNEV'S SPEECHES AT THE 25TH CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY AND THE CC PLENUM IN OCTOBER ADOPTED A FOUR-PART FORMAT OF "SOCIALIST COUNTRIES," THIRD WORLD ("NATIONAL LIBERATION"), WESTERN ("CAPITALIST") COUNTRIES, AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, IN THAT ORDER. REMARKS ON CHINA WERE SITUATED AT THE TAG END OF THE "SOCIALIST" SECTION.

4. KULAKOV MOVED CHINA UP IN THE ORDER, BEHIND THE "SOCIALIST COMMUNITY" BUT AHEAD OF NEW ARRIVALS LIKE VIETNAM, LAOS, CAMBODIA, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE. HOWEVER, WE SEE NOTHING NEW OF SUBSTANCE IN THE CHINA PASSAGE: KULAKOV REFERRED SPECIFICALLY TO BREZHNEV'S STATEMENT ON CHINA AT THE OCTOBER PLENUM, AND REITERATED THOSE ELEMENTS -- "RELATIONS HAVE BEEN DISTURBED THROUGH NO FAULT OF OUR OWN, FOR FIFTEEN YEARS NOW; RESTORATION OF GOOD NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS AND FRIENDSHIP.. IN LINE WITH ... THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM" -- WHICH ARE ALMOST CERTAIN TO PROVOKE CHINESE RETICENCE, RATHER THAN FORTHCOMINGNESS. THUS, THE MESSAGE DOES NOT SEEM DESIGNED TO BE ANSWERED, AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM, DESPITE ITS OBTINACIOUSLY CONCILIATORY TONE AND CONTENT.

5. SIMILARLY, KULAKOV MOVED THE SECTION ON "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" WITH "CAPITALIST" COUNTRIES AHEAD OF THE THIRD WORLD SECTION, BUT OFFERED NO SURPRISES ON SUBSTANCE. LIKE ALL RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IT MADE ENDING THE ARMS RACE THE KEYNOTE, AND WAS RATHER RESOLUTELY OPTIMISTIC, DESPITE CAREFUL DESCRIPTION OF THE "ENEMIES OF DETENTE" AND THEIR ARMS SPENDING. IN PARTICULAR, KULAKOV REPEATED BREZHNEV'S ASSURANCE THAT "THE SOVIET UNION IS PREPARED AT ANY MOMENT TO CUT ITS ARMED FORCES ON A RECIPROCAL BASIS," ALTHOUGH THE ONLY NEGOTIATION HE SINGLED OUT WAS SALT.

6. KULAKOV ALSO GAVE THE FIRST AUTHORITATIVE SOVIET REACTION TO THE U.S. ELECTION RESULTS, BY FOLDING THEM INTO THE GENERAL OPTIMISM "THE ELECTION RESULTS IN ITALY, THE FRG, THE RECENT ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND NUMEROUS PUBLIC OPINION POLLS SHOW THAT A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION IN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES FAVOR REALISTIC TENDENCIES IN FOREIGN POLICY. IT WOULD BE HOPED THAT THE LEADERSHIP OF THESE COUNTRIES WILL ABIDE BY CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ACCORDS REACHED EARLIER, SPECIFICALLY BY THE PROVISIONS OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, AND WILL TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS FOR INTERSTATE RELATIONS, BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, TO DEVELOP FURTHER IN THE INTERESTS OF STRENGTHENING PEACE AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION." THE TENDENCY TOWARD STRENGTHENING THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, HE ADDED, HAS BECOME THE DOMINANT TENDENCY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND RELAXATION OF TENSIONS HAS BECOME A REALITY.

7. FINALLY, THE SPEECH EXTRACTS AS CARRIED BY ENGLISH TASS DO NOT ADEQUATELY REFLECT ONE ELEMENT WHICH WAS NOTEWORTHY IN THE LIVE TELEVISION VERSION: KULAKOV WAS VERY FIRM, EVEN IN COMPARISON WITH MOST POST-BERLIN SOVIET STATEMENTS, ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. THERE ARE NOT AND WILL NOT BE CONCESSIONS, HE SAID. EVEN MORE STRONGLY, HE SUGGESTED THAT THE PARTIES OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE SHOULD NOW BE IN A POSITION TO DEMAND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMON GOALS AGREED THERE, ON THE BASIS OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM.

8. COMMENT. ON BALANCE, THE SPEECH WAS NOT INTENDED TO BREAK NEW GROUND, AND BROKE NONE.

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